

SPAIN'S OCTOBER

By Robert Blache



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BEFORE OCTOBER

The Republic was beautiful—
under the Kingdom.

Events in Spain raced like wildfire in a dry forest.

The Samper cabinet fell on October 1, over the Catalan question. Lerroux returned to power on the second. On the third he called in the fascists Gil Robles and de Valesco to share it with him. The general strike broke out on the fourth. On the fifth, Catalonia declared itself an independent republic.

A republic! Forty months before the fascist dictator and his King had been driven out by the toiling majority of Spain's millions. Primo de Rivera took his fat jowls and Alphonse XIII his hungry vulture's beak, for permanent display to the fashionable beaches of France.

A republic! The word became a synonym of liberty in Catalan and Basque. It would mean the end of poverty. It would surely dispossess those 50,000 rapacious landowners who held more than half the soil of the peninsula. The republic would restore the land to its millions of sons and daughters who tilled the domains of the Grandees, the priests, and the big landlords.

Republic would mean land to the peasants, jobs for the unemployed. Long before the crisis, only the most fortunate of the workers of Spain worked as much as two days out of four, or ate in the same proportion. If you had asked ten men: "Are you working?" six would have answered: "Not at all", and four: "A little." A republic would mean bread, land, freedom!

REALITY

But what actually happened? The actions of the Spanish republic—and by its actions the true identity of any government is revealed—took quite a different pattern. Beneath its new political clothing moved the unchanged body of capitalism, with its handful of rich parasites on top, and teeming misery of the toilers beneath.

The monarchy fell on April 14, 1931. In 1934, not one of all the great results assigned by the toilers of Spain to the "*republic of the workers of all classes*" (as it styled itself)—not one had been accomplished.

There are one hundred million acres of land in Spain. The big landowners still own fifty-seven and a half million acres. By the end of 1933, only one-sixth of one percent, or one hundred thousand acres, had been expropriated and turned over to the landless peasants.

The multimillionaire Catholic church received 131,000,000 pesetas in the space of three years as indemnities for confiscated land from the republican and "non-clerical" state. In spite of the dissolution of the order of Jesuits, and the limitations placed on the church in matters of education, it remains the same formidable power of exploitation and corruption that it was under the Kingdom.

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The national question is no nearer solution. Madrid conceded a shred of autonomy to Catalonia, but kept all finances, customs, and the army in its own hands.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

On January 1, 1934, the government officially admitted that there were 619,000 unemployed. But in reality a million and a half men suffered in forced idleness. Unemployment relief and insurance were as absent as they had been under Primo de Rivera's hated dictatorship, and those who had jobs were scarcely less miserable than the totally unemployed. An agricultural worker in Salamanca, for example, earned two pesetas and a half (20 cents in American money) per day!

A law, outlawing all strikes was passed under the slogan of "*defense of the Republic*." Another, passed on April 8, 1933, delivered all working-class organizations into the merciless hands of the authorities. Long before the October insurrection, the prisons were choked with close to ten thousand revolutionary workers and peasants.

The criminal deception practiced on the Spanish people under the "republic" was all the greater inasmuch as since 1931, the power had been in the hands of the "*left republicans*": socialists, radical-socialists, republicans, right Catalans, and Galician republicans—all "*radical*" parties.

Elections, in the year 1933, strengthened the reactionaries. They became bolder in their attacks. In April they drove the Socialists out of power, replacing them with "*Lerroux radicals*."

The parliamentary elections at the end of the year confirmed the triumph of the reactionary right, which rose from 42 to 212 seats. The loss of the "*left*" parties was heavy. Victims of an anti-democratic system of elections which they had themselves worked out, they saved only 98 seats out of 291.*

Yet, what a poor political prophet a ballot-box can be under a capitalist system! Having achieved this success, the fine feudal, clerical, and fascist flower of Spain, grouped together in the famous C.E.D.A., felt that its moment of final triumph was approaching. Lerroux, in power, began to march openly down the fascist road. Plans were laid to restore to the nobility the bits of land that had been taken from them; to give its property back to the church, and with it all its rights in the educational system. Monarchist ministers and generals were amnestied. The price of bread went up. Potatoes suddenly retailed at double their former price. In February, 1934, the last "*left*" radicals were eliminated from the government.

THE OFFENSIVE BEGINS

But even while the financiers, priests, and landowners were celebrating these gains, the toiling population on the land went over to

*The Communist Party, on the other hand, increased its votes from 60,000 in 1931, to 400,000 in 1933.

the offensive. With hunger generating energy, they attacked 225 great estates in the month of January, and succeeded in occupying 164. Twenty-four villages officially distributed the harvests of the Grand Seignors among the toilers. Poor peasants and agricultural workers cut wood in the forests (a "crime" against the feudal lords of Spain), took over the distribution of the harvests and formed peasants' defense militia which battled with scythes and pistols against the Civil Guards.

Three hundred thousand agricultural workers went on strike in the month of June. In April a strike in Madrid succeeded in reducing a fascist demonstration before the Escorial (royal palace), planned for 100,000 to 50,000.

Daily, everywhere, the destitute people of Spain, those who cultivated the land and built industry, went into battle against those who starved and oppressed them. Eight hundred and sixty strikes in 1931, 700 the following year, and more than 1,000 in 1933. In September, 70,000 Madrid workers marched militantly behind the bier of Joaquin De Grado Escalona, young Communist murdered by a fascist. It was the surge of revolution, inexorable as the floods of spring.

The workers and peasants counted their dead at 100, their comrades in the jails at 10,000, their wounded by the thousands. The Spanish International Labor Defense was pressed with tasks on every hand. Such matters as suppression of publications, raids on workers' centers and closing of their headquarters were matters of daily occurrence.

Then Lerroux came to power again. The shadow of fascism had enveloped him more completely than ever before. Restlessness, consternation, anger, stirred the toilers of city and field. The revolutionary movement surged. . . .

II. SPAIN'S OCTOBER

On October 7, three days after the proclamation of the Catalan republic, its president, Companys, capitulated. For three days he resisted the demand of the Catalan Youth and the Workers Alliance (Socialist and Communist), that he arm the people. But he held out only a few hours against General Batet, before yielding to him—and receiving his congratulations.

ITS HEROES

The history of Spain's October is not yet written, and could not in any case be contained in this pamphlet, which is dedicated solely to a plea for international solidarity. Full of political lessons, rich with proletarian heroism, this movement will stimulate avid, admiring study in the workers of other countries. But this much can be stated confidently—that for 10 consecutive days and nights, it brought insomnia and anguish to those who exploit and profit.

On October 9, while the cabinet deliberated, Lerroux could hear the rattle of insurgents' bullets against the walls of the Escorial. The merchants of Madrid were ordered by the authorities, on pain of severe penalties, to keep their shops open. The concierges (door-keepers) were held responsible for shots fired on civil guards by elusive inhabitants of their houses—fired by sons of the classic country of guerilla warfare. News came of the mutiny of the Gerone regiment, which executed five officers and the general staff commandant, Dominguez. Neither the telephone, telegraph, or railways were in operation. At Trubia, a battery of artillery fell into the hands of the insurgents, and Oviedo was taken by storm after street battles that lasted five days and displayed the rarest heroism. Workers scaled walls, their pockets full of dynamite, exposed themselves to machine-gun fire, lit short cartridge fuses with their cigarettes, and were blown up with them if the objective was too close, or their movements too slow.

At Barcelona, the stupidity—or treachery—of Companys, who broadcast his call to arms over the radio only after the armies of the state were already within the walls, crippled but did not crush the revolutionary population. When the Spanish regiment from Monjuich marched into Remblas, store and factory employes shot from the windows, and kept up a withering fire on the troops of General Batet until artillery-fire crumbled the buildings into dust, burying them beneath the debris.

At Sabadell, the textile workers are all members of the anarchist union. They were expelled by the leaders two years ago. They were too much inclined, it was stated, to form united fronts with Communists and Socialists. On the 5th, they prepared for strike—and battle. On the 7th, at four in the morning, they sent out columns of trucks to the relief of Barcelona. On the road they learned of Companys' capitulation, and the people, rage in their hearts but hopes undermined, carefully hid their arms for future use.

Even when it became clear that the treachery of the anarchists and the unpreparedness of the movement, were going to bring defeat, and that the struggle was confined to Asturias, the government troops, equipped with the most modern weapons, preceded by bombing planes and followed up by artillery regiments, found no signs of weakening among the revolutionaries.

The labored dispatches of General Lopez, assigned to the subjugation of Asturias, recall the daily bulletins of the general staff during the war, when things went badly. On October 17, Lopez blamed geographical difficulties for slowing up his advance. On the 20th it was "snow and rain." It took him another week to overcome the resistance of the miners of Pennaroya, and on the 28th he admitted he was still bombarding the entrenchments of the Asturian revolutionaries who had taken refuge in the mountains.

ITS ALLIES, THE SOLDIERS

International revolutionary experience is a valuable thing. Because they had studied the history of the Paris Commune and of the 1905 revolution in Russia, and learned its lessons, the strategists of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 spared the Russian soldiers, peasants, and workers the agony of defeat and the white terror.

Other organizations of the international proletariat will make a meticulous examination of the events and preparations for Spain's October of 1934. They will no doubt give special emphasis to the absence, at the side of the insurgents, of the decisive masses of peasants, soldiers, and oppressed colonials; they will establish the responsibility for this fatal underestimation of anti-war work.

One thing is clear, that in spite of this failure, the bourgeoisie was able to use its own armies only at great risk.

Interpreting the spirit of his troops, Lieutenant-Colonel Lopez Bravo, commanding an "African" battalion, told his friends that: "My men will never shoot their brothers." He was immediately withdrawn from the command. 1934

It is highly significant that the criticisms against Lerroux and Gil Robles in the Cortes (parliament) by the monarchists, nearly all deal with the fraternization between the army and the insurgents. They complain of the revolt of the Gerone regiment, the solidarity demonstration of the flyers at Leon, the mutiny of the sailors of the fleet at Santander, and many other similar actions.

Reports have filtered through indicating how widespread fraternization was. In Asturias, a soldier shouted: "I cannot kill these men!" and was promptly shot down by his lieutenant. At Carthagena, a quartermaster and 14 sailors refused to serve the counter-revolution. They were tried by court-martial and nearly all of them sentenced to death.

To make up for the numerous defections, and to complete its victory over the insurgents, the government was forced to draw troops in from Africa, the Foreign Legion, Moroccan rifle regiments composed entirely of natives.

Luis de Sirval, a newspaperman employed by the "Voz de Guipuzcoa", a bourgeois paper, and a member of the "radical Socialist" party, was in Oviedo late in October. He witnessed unspeakable cruelties practiced by the imported troops, and collected certain documents. Among these were: 1) a secret order to officers to shoot down on the spot all persons found bearing arms, and 2) a photograph showing a Moroccan soldier wearing two freshly-severed heads hanging from his belt. A White Russian Lieutenant in the Foreign Legion, named Ivanof, heard that Sirval had these things in his possession. He had him arrested.

On October 26, just as he was being arrested, Sirval managed to

scribble a note to an official in Madrid, which reached him next day. . . . "Prisoner Oviedo Please Intercede Ochoa, Sirval."

The official telephoned to General Ochoa on the 27th. It was too late. The White Russian officer had gone into Sirval's cell, murdered him, and taken the documents.

III. THE INQUISITION LIVES AGAIN

The vengeance of the landowners and priests, the industrialists and bankers, of Spain was measured by their fear.

The Jesuits of the inquisition, and the corsairs of the Atlantic may be proud of their descendants. Torquemada burned and tortured 8,000 prisoners in the 18 years, between 1480 and 1498. The lords and merchants, the great adventurers, of Spain, swarmed like a plague over the rich lands of Central and South America in the XVth Century. They hunted men and gold, annihilated whole peoples. Their cruelty, the instinctive hatred of a bandit for his victim, of the parasite against the slave who feeds him, have survived. 1934 can rival 1530 in the history of the Spanish bourgeoisie. The executioners of old slew one at a time. Their modern descendants conduct massacres with auto-gyros and artillery for weapons. In 1530 they called it a "purification." Today, they call it a "clean-up."

"The legionnaires have made a real clean-up of the enemy at Oviedo, with efficient and effective methods, when they were being shot from behind. They were able to settle accounts with all those found with arms in their hands, or surprised in aggressive positions! (1) They dealt exemplary punishment, in accord at all times with the severest laws of war." (From El Debate, Madrid.)

HOW MUCH BLOOD?

Figures? Statistics? They are not yet available. The blood still flows, the flesh still screams. When the legionnaires captured a group of Asturians, they forced them to dig their own common grave, and shot them into it. Commandant Doval gave orders to the shepherds not to take their flocks out any more, for fear that the refugees on the mountain peaks and in the snow-filled ravines might find means to keep from starving, which would prevent them from surrendering.

The legionnaires took the wounded out of the hospital at Oviedo, in groups of six and eight. As they walked off they were killed on the pretense that they had tried to escape. This is what is called the "ley de fuga" (law of flight.)

A poor woman whose husband had "disappeared", went out to look for him. She found an open grave into which 26 bodies had been thrown, some heads down and some heads up. Among them were two municipal guards from a Socialist commune, killed by blows from a rifle-butt. At Sotroadio, a Socialist town, all the municipal guards were massacred.

Admission of the Oviedo massacres is contained in the proclamation of the military authorities there, which was scattered from airplanes:

"All the damage that has been done by aerial bombardment, and by the troops, are but a glimpse of what you will infallibly suffer if you do not cease your rebellion and lay down your arms before sunrise. After that time, we will march against you until you are completely destroyed, without quarter or pardon."

Every act of the armed forces proves clearly that the objective of the Spanish bourgeoisie, especially in regard to Asturias, was the extermination of the miners. Oviedo, capital of Asturias, was practically destroyed by aerial bombardment. The men, women, and children who perished in this bombardment are not counted among the 3,000 officially reported killed. In three days, in Oviedo alone, 1,000 persons were buried.

THE TERROR SPREADS

Immediately after the city of Oviedo was taken, 700 workers were shot in the infantry garrison by the government troops. Others were shot by firing squads on warships, in the streets, and on the public squares. Immediately after the recapture of the Asturian cities, revolutionary miners were shot down wherever they were found. Eight days after the suspension of hostilities, firing-squads were busy executing wounded revolutionaries in one of the hospitals in the Asturias. Blood literally ran in the streets of Oviedo after the city had been taken by the government forces.

Sixty thousand prisoners, eighty thousand prisoners; six thousand killed; ten thousand wounded—these are provisional figures. In the little town of Figueras alone, 600 bodies were found piled up in the chateau.

THE VICTIMS SPEAK

A Basque revolutionary describes two nights spent in the prison at Bilbao as follows:

"Some of the workers are tied to a bench at the hips, their bodies dangling on either side. They dare not let their heads touch the floor; a watchful guard forces them, with brutal kicks, to stay in an absolutely horizontal position. At the same time, they are so tied that it is impossible for them to sit up. Their hands are tied behind their backs, and they are forced to stay in the position I have described from dusk to dawn."

Another witness, from the Asturias, told a newspaperman:

"Just before I left, I heard a Civil Guardsman say: 'If the government says we must not execute them, we manage to deal out justice just the same.' They did it, and they still do it. The Guards and the legionnaires arrest suspects in their homes, take them into the mountains, and shoot them. That is, when they shoot them. Often, they kill them by beating them with rifle-butts."

The reactionary Spanish press eagerly publishes full descriptions of scenes of cruelty. The reactionary "Ahorá" said on October 18:

"General Ochoa's troops found one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement, near Aviles. He was a Socialist mayor, travelling in a car with a young man who is supposed to be his son. General Ochoa arrested them and made them march at the head of the troops during the offensive."

On the 17th, the same paper reported: *"After the bombardment of the fishing village of Cimadevilla by the cruiser 'Libertad', 300 persons,—men, women and children—were found, shelterless, and driven half-mad. They were arrested. Some of them were tied together and held in the square, in order to protect the troops."*

The "Stampa" of October 20 confirmed the report of the arrest of 40 in Gijon of these, mostly between the ages of 18 and 25. They were used by one of the brigades as cover against the revolutionaries. Every one was killed, saluting with raised fist.

COURT MARTIAL

The workers taken alive, and not killed on the spot by the civil guards, are still in danger. They must face the Court Martial which have already caused Jose Laredo Corrales, of Gijon, and Guerra Pardo, of Leon, to be executed, and who have at the time this is written sentenced additional scores to death.

A bitter campaign, into which the International Labor Defense of Spain, in spite of the terror, is throwing all its forces, is being fought around the execution of the brave insurgents. The fascists and the Jesuits are stamping with impatience, demanding their toll of corpses. Gil Robles has made the following cruel and crafty statement to the press:

"Examples must be made at all costs, to avoid the return of those painful days. In the case of serious punishment, delay in its execution is in itself a cruelty."

Those found "guilty" who have not been condemned to the gallows have been condemned to punishment almost as terrible. Here are a few of the more "kindly" of the sentences:

Manuel Sierra Martinez, 19, condemned to 12 years imprisonment for distribution of "subversive leaflets".

Luis Alacio, student, sentenced to three years and a day for "insulting a Civil Guard". Garcia del Moral, peasant, sentenced to 20 years for being caught with a weapon in his hand. Mendieta Lopez, 24, 12 years for trying to persuade a street-car conductor to strike. A worker in Coruna, 15 years for possession of forbidden arms. These examples, only a few of hundreds, are taken from "El Debate", agrarian catholic newspaper of Madrid.

The press also provided many details on the execution of Jose Corrales:

He knew of his execution 24 hours in advance. When his wife came to pay him a last visit, he wanted to be photographed with his baby in his arms, so when his son grew up he would know his father's face. The Jesuits forced him to remain in the condemned cell, and turned his last night into a wake. In the morning, he was taken to the execution grounds. The firing-squad was several hours late, and Corrales lived his last hours marching up and down to fight back the intense cold.

IV. THE ASTURIAN SOVIETS

Cruelty is always prudish. It loves to justify itself by besmirching its victims. While the judges and the Civil Guards did their jobs, the newspapermen were not idle. While the first wiped out the lives of the militant fighters, the others dishonored their memory.

The Communards of Paris in 1871 were called "fire-bugs"; the colonial peoples, robbed and massacred during the last few centuries, have been dubbed "barbarians" by the imperialist murderers; and the Russian workers, who were killed and whose wives were violated by the troops of Wrangel and Denikin, in the pay of Clemenceau and Curzon, were called "red bandits" and even "cannibals".

Spanish newspapermen, eating out of the hands of the big trusts and the lords of the land, have added nothing new. They have not advanced the science of lies by a single step. Their lies were coarse and unimaginative. For example, here is how one Maurice Prax, describes the Oviedo insurrection:

"For ten days, the revolutionaries were in power. Unspeakable atrocities were committed. Civil Guards were slaughtered and carved up like cows in a butcher-shop. Neither women nor children were spared. Priests were burned alive. Houses, railways, bridges, and roads were blown up with dynamite. The devastation of the land was carried out with a fury of bitterness and despair."

The quotation is from the "Petit Parisien," published at Paris, France, October 30. However, on the same day the "Heraldo de Madrid" said:

"It is not true that revolutionaries at Sama slaughtered and ate a priest. It is not true that at Giano they cut open the belly of the wife of a Civil Guard and forced a three-cornered hat into the opening. It is not true that the body of a captain of Civil Guards was shown in a butcher-shop window with a sign 'Pork Sold Here.' It is not true, either, that the revolutionaries pierced the eyes of the children of Civil Guards."

Captain Fernandez Castillejo of the general staff, himself stated: "The cruelties attributed to the revolutionaries of Asturia are part of a perfidious campaign of exaggeration." He went further: "Around the events in Asturia, which I wholeheartedly condemn, there has been constructed a perfidious campaign of exaggeration. Cruelties, of which

I disapprove as much as anyone, have been the exception, and by no means the rule. This impression of mine has been categorically confirmed by General Lopez Ochoa. I say that these stories of crucified sons of officers, these children whose eyes have been torn out, are pure and simple lies. The revolutionaries killed those who resisted them by force of arms, but in general they respected their prisoners."

RED ORDER

In spite of the fever of revolution, the tense atmosphere of combat, and the shadow of death that attended the birth of the Asturian Soviets, order reigned.

This proclamation by the Oviedo Soviet, inspired by deep concern for the interests of the population speaks for itself.

NOTICE

We have decided:

- 1) *All pillaging must cease immediately, and we warn that all individuals who may be caught in any act of this sort will be shot;*
- 2) *Every person having arms in his possession must immediately report to the Committee. Anyone found bearing arms, without having previously reported to the Committee, will be severely dealt with;*
- 3) *All persons in whose houses pillaged objects are stored must return them immediately. Those who fail to obey this order will suffer the punishment reserved for enemies of the Revolution;*
- 4) *All members of administrative committees of workers' organizations of Oviedo must report to the Committee immediately. This order is made in connection with the distribution of food and clothing;*
- 5) *The members of the Parties and Youth organizations of Oviedo must report immediately with their membership books, to form a red guard which will maintain order and guard the welfare of the revolution.*

Oviedo, October 9, 1934.

THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE.

TWO VICTIMS OF "RED" ATROCITIES

One of the editors of "Stampa", an equally reactionary paper, also published in Madrid, interviewed an official of the "Locksmiths' Employers' Union," who was held prisoner by the revolutionaries. He asked him to describe his sufferings.

"No," he said. "We were not ill-treated. Whenever they spoke to us, it was to offer us some ham and some coffee. We did not accept, because we did not have any appetite."

Another ex-prisoner of the insurgents, Judain, a municipal official, told the same journalist:

"We were treated very well. We got bread and ham three times a day."

"Is it true that the revolutionaries despise money?" the reporter asked.

"It is absolutely true. They had the Economic Bank in their hands, and did not even touch it. The leaders, especially, tried to avoid difficulties. I witnessed a picturesque scene. Some miners went into a tavern, and began to drink wine. All at once, one of the leaders appeared at the door and shouted: 'Do you live to drink, or to make the revolution?' They all left the tavern at once."

The quotations give an idea how completely the "atrocities campaign" failed and why the government so furiously ordered the arrest of all foreign investigators: Lord Listowell and Ellen Wilkinson, English members of the World Relief Committee, Miss Tery of the French bourgeois newspaper "l'Oeuvre," the lawyer Oppmann, a delegate of the International Juridical Association who offered to assist the victims of the court martial, Rabate, correspondent of the French weekly "Monde", and others. The last-mentioned was threatened with twelve years imprisonment because he dared to include two copies of anti-fascist leaflets in his correspondence.

RIGHT OF ASYLUM

The right of asylum, freely granted by the French government to counter-revolutionists, from the White Guards who arm and drill for intervention in the Soviet Union, to Primo de Rivera and King Alphonse XIII of Spain, has been violated almost daily by this same country in regard to Spanish revolutionary refugees. The French police summarily returned all refugees from the white terror to the Spanish Civil Guards.

The mayor Aluisellas, his secretary, and three small merchants from the same town, were arrested almost the moment they arrived in France, and turned over at Portillon to Spanish police, who had been summoned by telephone. Five anti-fascist refugees, among them a Spanish soldier were turned back in the same way to the Spanish police at Marchandean, on October 25. The same thing happened to four others at Canfranc. The secretary of the Taxi-Drivers Union of Pamplona, Eucario Redin d'Anneguy, who took refuge in Pau, was also returned.

It is impossible to estimate the total number of refugees sent back to prison and death in this manner. Only in a few cases were official reports made public. Similar actions took place along the Spanish-Portuguese border. Among those delivered by the Portuguese government to the Spanish government was Simon Diaz, secretary of the Asturian regional committee of the Communist Party.

SPANISH INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

With scores of thousands in jail, scores of thousands of women and children left destitute by imprisonment and murder, the tasks of the Spanish International Labor Defense have been tremendous.

In spite of the illegality of the work, it was undertaken from the very first with energy commensurate with its magnitude.

While the artillery still roared, and the streets ran with blood, the Spanish International Labor Defense succeeded in bringing the equivalent of twenty cents in American money, daily to every prisoner.

THE I. R. A. ACTS

The prisons and prison-ships of Spain are gorged with prisoners, equivalent to the population of a city like Schenectady. Wracked in soul and body, chained to stone walls and in the dark holds of freighters, they think of their homes—destroyed, of their families—murdered or dispersed. The roads of France are covered with refugees, constantly being pressed northward, driven about, waiting for a word of friendship, for the material help of proletarian solidarity. Some of them are orphans who have seen their parents massacred, and who have survived them only to starve. There are thousands of young bodies to clothe, frozen, swollen feet to shoe, wounds to be dressed.

There are, finally, thousands of insurgents to be supplied with legal aid, to be protected by a fearless campaign against summary sentences of imprisonment, torture, death.

The task of the I.L.D. in Spain, France, Portugal, even with the support of the millions who can be organized by I.L.D. sections in other parts of the world, is perhaps beyond its strength. But it is determined to succeed. And it is accomplishing it—so fast that by the time this pamphlet is read, the following paragraphs will probably have become the most out-of-date in this pamphlet. So we will only try to sketch the very first solidarity moves to meet the Spanish terror.

The struggle was still raging in Spain, the Foreign Legion had just been dispatched against the miners who had taken over control of the region, when the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid called on its sections in seventy countries of the world to organize assistance for the victims of the Spanish reaction.

But this call was superfluous. Internationalism is so deeply rooted in the sections of the I.R.A. throughout the world that they reacted immediately to the situation in Spain, both in the countries where the work of the I.L.D. is carried on legally, and in those countries where it has been driven completely underground.

While the battle was going on, appeals were sent out by all the sections for protest against the terror and actions of solidarity with its victims. They came from France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, and the countries of the Caribbean and of South America.

The MOPR, (I.L.D. of the Soviet Union), was foremost in the ranks in the collection of funds for aid to the Spanish victims. Nearly \$400,000 was collected for relief and defense and sent to the I.L.D. of Spain for distribution.

Besides the collections which were immediately organized, several sections contributed funds directly from their relief treasuries, amounting to nearly \$30,000. The fighting members of the I.L.D. realized that the victims, the political prisoners, and their families in Spain could not wait for collections, but needed immediate aid.

The Belgian I.L.D. published a special number of its newspaper, devoted to the heroic struggles of the Spanish people and to the cause of solidarity with the victims of the terror.

The English section sent 50 pounds sterling to the Spanish comrades, and organized special collections of money, food, and clothing. A ship was chartered to take the food and clothing to Spain.

The Cuban I.L.D. held huge demonstrations in Havana and Camagüey. A special campaign of meetings and collections was organized throughout the country.

In Berlin itself, the Spanish ambassador had to complain to his government that during the whole morning of November 12, he was forced to contemplate a huge inscription, inscribed overnight with indelible red paint on the sidewalk under his window: "Down with Spanish fascism! The workers of Berlin express their solidarity with their Spanish brothers!"

The Shutzbunders of Austria, now in Moscow working on the construction of a hotel, decided to dedicate a whole day's wages for the Spanish revolutionists.

The American I.L.D. mobilized protest actions to the Spanish consulates and sent \$1,500 for relief.

WHAT MUST STILL BE DONE

But here in America we have not given the full share of our international duty to our sister section of the I.L.D. in Spain. We who are faced with the colossal burdens of defending thousands in every corner of our country who have been taken prisoner in the class struggle, with national campaigns of the dimensions of Scottsboro, Herndon, Mooney, McNamara, can easily understand the problems of the Spanish I.L.D.

We still enjoy a measure of freedom in the United States. With the exception of the deep South our organization functions legally and openly. We are still permitted to hold meetings, to publish literature, to keep headquarters. But even with this comparative measure of freedom, we have tasted the difficulty of working under conditions of open terror. Our I.L.D. offices were smashed during the vigilante raids that followed the General and marine strikes on the West coast. Our organizers were thrown into jail. In the South, in Alabama and Georgia, office after office established by the I.L.D. has been raided and smashed by police and thugs, equipment has been confiscated and thousands of pieces of literature wantonly destroyed.

Multiplying this situation a hundred fold, we can easily appreciate

the terrific tasks facing the Spanish I.L.D. We understand our international duty. We realize the vital need for developing the greatest wave of international solidarity with the thousands of victims of Spain's October.

Every Spanish consulate in the country must be made to feel the might of mass protest. Delegations from trade unions and other workers' organizations demanding an end to the terror against the Spanish masses and freedom for the thousands imprisoned will mean much to the fighters in Spain.

Resolutions, passed at meetings, in trade union locals, in all workers' organizations addressed to the Spanish embassy in Washington and to President Zamora in Madrid, Spain, will show the fascists that their vicious deeds are known and condemned and that the workers whom they seek to crush by their brutality have thousands upon thousands of friends and comrades the world over.

This is not a campaign of a week. Martial law continues in Spain indefinitely. The jails are still filled with thousands who have never been tried or even indicted.

Funds to aid these victims are an absolute necessity. The Spanish I.L.D. is heroically collecting what it can despite all the terror of Lerroux and Robles. But the exploited workers of Spain cannot possibly raise enough to care for their comrades. Money must continue to come from all parts of the world to meet the tremendous needs.

Every cent represents another voice raised in international solidarity with the victims of Spanish fascism. Every coin is a blow against fascism, not only in Spain, but in Germany, Austria, Poland, and its ambitions here at home.

The heroes of Asturias, men, women and children, fought not only in their own interests. Their fight against fascism was our fight. The menace of fascism is slowly engulfing the whole of the capitalist world. Here in the United States it is advancing more and more rapidly. In Spain, it is established on a tottering foundation. Its rule is threatened by the organized might of millions. Seventy thousand in the jails will not crush the struggle of the Spanish masses. The Spanish workers are determined to continue their fight against fascism. We can help them. We must help them. Add your voice to the international protest and solidarity movement. Add your contribution to the fighting fund of material aid to the prisoners, widows, orphans—fighters in Spain's October.

Send your contribution through the national office of the I.L.D., 80 East 11th St., N. Y. C. We transmit it by cable direct to the Spanish I.L.D.

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